

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Henry C. Carey on slavery.

THE SLAVE TRADE—DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN. WHY IT EXISTS AND HOW IT MAY BE EXTIRPATED. BY H. C. CAREY, Author of "The Philosophy of Money," "The Past, Present, and Future of the West," etc. Philadelphia: A. Hart, No. 126 Chestnut-st. 1838. pp. 68.

Mr. Carey is a Political Economist. All his views spring from that science. Cause and Effect—with these he deals. He does not depend on rhetoric. He never appeals to the imagination or passions. He does not invoke generosity. He does not demand enthusiasm. He lays down laws. Euclid in form or Spinoza in spirit, is not more calm. He addresses himself to Thinkers. To those who will study; who will endeavor to arrive at the origin of things outside the narrow circle of a particular time or place, this book is addressed. The reader who hopes to shed luxurious tears over harrowing descriptions of African bondage—and there an end—will hardly go so scientifically to work to discover the causes of slavery, without which the means of its cure cannot be effected. For such, this work is not written directly. But there are those who will read it; the men who write and speak for the public at large will be influenced by it. And it is curious to see how the small intellectual band operates upon the mass at second-hand. Writers whom the public never read are filtered through the brains of others; and many a respectable legislative reputation is formed out of the genius that does not shine on Capitol Hill, but lives tranquilly in books. Hence the true legislation exists in the higher intelligence which is above party, and does not address popular assemblies.

The subject discussed in the following pages is one of great importance, and especially so to the people of this country. The views here set forth are for consideration differ from those of the majority, but they are, nevertheless, of the cause of evil and the mode of cure; but it does not follow necessarily that they are wrong. By reflecting upon the fact, that there is scarcely an opinion he now holds, that has not, and at no very distant period, been deemed quite as earnest as any he advanced. In regard to the latter, he is ready and open to be convinced. He is supported, he is ready to bear in mind that the latter are, with very few exceptions, drawn from writers holding views directly opposed to those of the author of this volume. He is disposed to be suspicious of the motives of the writers of the injurious articles, and to think them here treated as leading to slavery, or the beneficial ones resulting from that here described as tending to establish perfect and universal freedom of

Chapter I. "THE WIDE EXTENT OF SLAVERY," very tranquilly and scientifically classifies under one general head the slavery of the world, including that of Europe, with certain remarks. We give the greater portion of this chapter, as follows:

Slavery still exists throughout a large portion of what we are accustomed to regard as the civilized world. In some countries, men are forced to take the chance of a lottery for the determination of the question whether they shall or shall not be transported to a distant land, where they will probably perish, leaving behind them impoverished mothers and sisters to lament their fate. In others, they are seized on the highway and sent to sea for long terms of years, while parents, wives and children, who had been separated from them, are left to perdition, or driven to vice or crime to procure the means of support. In a third class, men, their wives, and children, are driven from their homes to perish in the road, or to endure the slavery of others, and then to their graves, and this clear the way for a fresh supply of others like themselves. In a fourth, we see men driven to selling themselves for long periods at hard labor in distant countries, deprived of the society of parents, relatives, and friends, and then exposed to sale, and wives are separated from husbands, while children are separated from parents. In some, white men, and in others, black men, are subjected to the lash, and sold to the lowest bidder. In some places men are most valuable, and are well fed and clothed. In others, man is regarded as a 'drug' and population as a 'nuisance'; and Christian men are warned that their duty to God and to man requires that they should not be the cause of 'absolutely any degradation and distress, short of' 'absolute death, with a view to prevent the increase of numbers.

How shall Slavery be abolished? This is the great question of our day. That a few years since it was answered by the black people in order for the immediate emancipation of the black people held to Slavery in her colonies; and it is often urged that we should follow her example. Before doing this, however, it would appear to be proper to examine into the past history of the country, to see how the race in the past century, with a view to determine how far the experience would warrant the belief that the course thus urged upon us would be likely to produce improvement in the condition of the objects of our sympathy. Should the right of freedom had been advanced by the measures there pursued, our duty to our fellow-men would require that we should follow it in the same direction, at whatever loss and inconvenience to ourselves. Should it be proved that the course pursued there had not been an improvement, it will then become proper to enquire what have been in past time the circumstances under which men have become more free with a view to ascertain wherein lies the deficiency, and why it is that there now so often occurs a retrogression in the most important portions of the world. These things ascertained, it may be that there will be little difficulty in determining what are the measures now best for enabling all men, black, white, and brown, to obtain the rights of freemen. To adopt the course will be to follow in that of the skillful physician, who always determines within himself the cause of fever before he prescribes the medicine.

Chapter II. details the SLAVERY in the **WESTERN COLONIES**, "with its terrific waste of life." The author shows that from 1817 to 1829 the destruction of negro life was proceeding with constantly accelerating rapidity; and a continuation of the system as then existed, must have witnessed the total annihilation of the negro race within a half century. Any regrets, therefore, we could add, over the Emancipation Act, on the grounds of its comparative injury to the blacks, are wasted; any arguments against the same act, are futile; as it existed was to be continued, are futile, however popular in the South. On the loss of life accruing from the British system, our author observes:

Viewing these facts, not a doubt can, I think, be entertained that the number of negroes imported into the island number the thousands, and that they could scarcely have been estimated at less than 750,000; and certainly, at the most moderate estimate, at not less than 700,000. If to these we were to add the children that must have been born on the island in the long period of 178 years, and then all who remained for the purpose of manumitting to only 311,000, we should find ourselves forced to the conclusion that Slavery was here attended with a destruction of life almost without a parallel.

In the history which civilized nations have written in the chapter III. which treats of SLAVERY in the UNITED STATES we copy entire, as it relates to ourselves.

In the North American provinces, near the United States, negro Slavery existed from the first settlement, but on a small scale, as the demand for slaves was mainly supplied from England. The exports of the colonies were bulky, and the whites could be imported as return cargo, whereas the blacks would have required a valuable cargo to be sent to England, as the demand for slaves was maintained. The export from England ceased after the revolution of 1808, and thenceforward negro slaves were somewhat more freely imported, yet the trade appears to have been so small as scarcely to have attracted notice. The only notice in the Annals of Commerce is that in the eight months ending July 13, 1783, the negroes imported into Charleston, S. C. were 211 in number; and that in the year 1765-66, the value of negroes imported from Africa to the colonies was increased to \$100,000, and at that time only £10 each would give only 1452. From 1783 to 1787, the number exported from all the West India Islands to this country was 1392,—being an average of less than 500 per annum; and there is little reason for believing that this number was increased in any degree during the next thirty years. The British West Indies were then the entrepôt of the trade, and thence they were supplied to the other islands and the settlements on the Main, and had the demand for this country.

It is not doubted that the large exportation of the thousands that annually would have been sent in this direction.

Under these circumstances, the only mode of arriving at the history of Slavery prior to the first census in 1790, appears to be to commence at that date and go forward, and afterward employ the information obtained in the subsequent censuses to trace the operations of the preceding period. The number of negroes, free and enslaved, at that date was 151,260. And at the second census, in 1800, it was 203,355. Of these, there were thirty-three per cent. How much of this, however, was due to importation, we have now to inquire. The only two States that then fabricated the import of slaves were South Carolina and Georgia, their joint black population of which, in 1790, was 103,355; whereas, in 1800, it had risen to 103,355.

Increase 52,095.

In the same period the white population increased 124,764, requiring an immigration of 124,764. Now, if we take the extent of the trade for the last 50,000, even allowing more than 100 per cent. for the natural increase by birth. Admitting, now, that for every family of five free persons there came one slave, this would account for 3,666.

And if we take the natural increase of the slave population at only one-twenty-five per cent, we have further 34,000.

Making a total from domestic sources of 43,000.

Deducting these from the total number added, we obtain for the number increasing about 261 per cent.

The population in this period, says:

This statement is not necessary for keeping up the stock as proved by the example of North America—a country long and steadily increasing in negroes. In the year 1790, when the census was made, the number of slaves in that country was 200,000; in 1800, the number of the same race was 300,000; in 1810, the number was 400,000; in 1820, the number was 500,000; in 1830, the number was 600,000; in 1840, the number was 700,000; in 1850, the number was 800,000; in 1860, the number was 900,000; in 1870, the number was 1,000,000; in 1880, the number was 1,100,000; in 1890, the number was 1,200,000; in 1900, the number was 1,300,000; in 1910, the number was 1,400,000; in 1920, the number was 1,500,000; in 1930, the number was 1,600,000; in 1940, the number was 1,700,000; in 1950, the number was 1,800,000; in 1960, the number was 1,900,000; in 1970, the number was 2,000,000; in 1980, the number was 2,100,000; in 1990, the number was 2,200,000; in 2000, the number was 2,300,000; in 2010, the number was 2,400,000; in 2020, the number was 2,500,000; in 2030, the number was 2,600,000; in 2040, the number was 2,700,000; in 2050, the number was 2,800,000; in 2060, the number was 2,900,000; in 2070, the number was 3,000,000; in 2080, the number was 3,100,000; in 2090, the number was 3,200,000; in 2100, the number was 3,300,000; in 2110, the number was 3,400,000; in 2120, the number was 3,500,000; in 2130, the number was 3,600,000; in 2140, the number was 3,700,000; in 2150, the number was 3,800,000; in 2160, the number was 3,900,000; in 2170, the number was 4,000,000; in 2180, the number was 4,100,000; in 2190, the number was 4,200,000; in 2200, the number was 4,300,000; in 2210, the number was 4,400,000; in 2220, the number was 4,500,000; in 2230, the number was 4,600,000; in 2240, the number was 4,700,000; in 2250, the number was 4,800,000; in 2260, the number was 4,900,000; in 2270, the number was 5,000,000; in 2280, the number was 5,100,000; in 2290, the number was 5,200,000; in 2300, the number was 5,300,000; in 2310, the number was 5,400,000; in 2320, the number was 5,500,000; in 2330, the number was 5,600,000; in 2340, the number was 5,700,000; 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laws of production and distribution of wealth tend not
to slavery but to freedom.

CHAPTER VI. HOW WEALTH TENDS TO INCREASE. We extract.

The increase of wealth depends on the ability of men to combine their exertions with their fellow-men, consuming the land and sea and the land's produce, and thus enabling the farmer not only to repair readily the exhaustion caused by each successive crop, but also to call to his aid the services of the chemist in the preparation of artificial manures, as well as to call into activity the mineral resources by which he is almost everywhere surrounded.

Adam Smith is here quoted with crushing force against the present English System, which is to prevent men from combining their labors, by claiming a monopoly of manufactures.

Chapter VII, shows HOW MAX QUERIES VALUE AND ECONOMY FREE. This is a sequence to Chapters V. and VI., exhibiting the necessity of economy and of having the fewest possible intermediates in commerce, and that the producer should be at the side of the consumer and as much as possible to increase wealth and promote freedom.

Chapter IX. "HOW SLAVERY GREW, AND HOW IT IS NOW MAINTAINED IN THE WEST INDIES," which, after an array of statistics, says:

"Unlimited competition looks to the competition for the sale of raw produce in the markets of England, and to the destruction of any competition with England in the West Indies; and it is under this system that the poor laborer of Jamaica is being destroyed. He is now where a slave, than ever, because his labor yields him less than the necessities and comforts of life than when a master was bound to provide for him." It is under this system that the negroes are laboring in South and Southwest; but the greater, as they are told, must be the prosperity of England. It is unfortunate for the world that a country exercising so much civilization and the freedom to expand its territory, and to have adopted a policy so adverse to the civilization and the freedom of the rest of the world, has been at work looking at large. There seems, however, but little probability of change. Seeking to make of herself a great workshop, she necessarily desires that all the rest of the world should be one great farm to be cultivated by men, women and children, denied all other means of support of life. This, of course, forbids association, which diminishes as lands become exhausted. The absence of associations forbids the existence of schools or workshops, books or instruction, and men become barbarized, and yet, how a country would become civilized.

The tendency to Freedom passes away, as we see to have often been the case in the last twenty years; but in place of Freedom, and as a compensation for the horrors of Jamaica and of the domestic slave trade, good words were thought of, and the old law of the Slave Trade, which had been passed, cheap sugar, and cheap cotton. Were Adam Smith alive, his enlightenment and probably would, take some trouble to inform his countrymen that a system which looked to the exhaustion of the land of other countries, and the endless search to find more competent labor, manifestly was the most sacred duty of nations; but since his day the doctrines of the World of Nations have been discarded, and its author would now find himself addressing horrors more unwilling than when he wrote his famous book. He would find that at that time the imaginary discovery had not been made that men always commenced on the rich soils and passed, as population and wealth increased, to poorer ones;—now, however, whatever traces of the old law of the Slave Trade, as we are told, to be regarded as a great object; and the domestic Slave Trade accomplishes that object at the same time that it furnishes cheap cotton, it can scarcely be expected that there will be any change; and yet, unless it is done, how can we make abroad our cotton at home, we must resort to submit to the continuance of the existing system, which precludes education, almost eschews matrimony, perpetuates barbarism and wastes parents and children, and cradles the future slaves of the nation.

To the philosophy of this we agree fully, but we must contrast the closing lines on the position of slaves inherent in the very system, with the previous statement of the author, that they are treated kindly. Slaves as a class cannot be treated kindly. We might as well say a person was run over by a wagon, and had both legs crushed mild. The wheels of Slavery cannot crush human hearts with mild force. It is the force of hell—it burns while it strikes.

CHAPTER XI. HOW SLAVERY GROWS IN PORTUGAL AND TURKEY, shows how Portugal has been ruined by the Methuen Treaty with England:

The necessary consequences of a system which looks to consume the whole produce of a country to employ themselves in a single pursuit—all cultivating the land and all producing the same commodity;—and thus effectively prevents the growth of that natural association so much admired by Adam Smith, who said that an industry in the shape of the hand, the plow, the loom, the mill, the distaff, the spindle, the shuttle, and men come together, even the poor land is made rich, and thus it is," says M. de Juvénat, "that the power of manure causes the poor lands of the Department of the Seine to yield three times as much as those of the Loire."

The continuation of this chapter on Turkey is invaluable, and we commend most earnestly its perusal to the Secretary of State at Washington, as the forming of new relations with Turkey is now spoken of. In the year 1670 the Turkish Government bound itself by a treaty with England to charge no more than three per cent. duty on imports. This could not supply the revenue, so direct taxation prevailed, and an indirect tax in the shape of export duties was adopted. Turkey manufactured much of her own cotton, and exported cotton yarn up to a certain point. To the same extent civilization was advancing. Her manufactures were destroyed or impaired by English labor-saving machinery, combined with "Free Trade." The profits," says Mr. Ugluhart, "have been reduced to one-half, and sometimes to one-third, by the introduction of English cottons, which, though they have reduced the home price and arrested the export of cotton yarn from Turkey have not yet supplanted the home manufacture in any visible degree; for, until tranquillity has allowed agriculture to revive, the people must go on working merely for bread, and reducing their price in a struggle of hopeless competition. The industry of the women and children is most remarkable, and in every interval of labor, tending the cattle, carrying water, the spindle and distaff, as in the days of Xerxes, is never out of their hands. The children are as assiduously at work, from the moment their little fingers can turn the spindle." It seems that the Turkish woman can earn four cents a day, and the "unremitting labor of a week will command twenty-five cents." Of course, under this system, national decomposition is going on, and as our author sums it up, Turkish Society is divided into two classes, "the plunderers and the plundered." But Mr. Ugluhart is nevertheless an advocate for British Free Trade. Silk manufactures are perishing, equally with others. Our new Minister, whoever he is to be for Turkey, should, in order to be available to that country, show her that her Free Trade system, so-called, is ruin; and that she needs Protection and labor-saving machinery. If this he is not secured to her, she is lost.

Chapter XII, HOW SLAVERY GROWS IN INDIA, recites probably the most dreary portion of human history—how a distant and ineffective nation of over one hundred millions has been sacrificed to the aesthetic rapacity of Great Britain—the same accursed system which attempted to destroy our colonial industry, and has thus far crippled our efforts, on account of the juggernaut wheels of party, with us, rolling over politico-economical truth. We commend particularly to the Democracy the perusal of the chapter on India.

Chapter XIV, HOW SLAVERY GROWS IN ENGLAND. This is a terrible picture of the state of things in the most favored part of that Empire which claims to be the workshop of the world.—"How rapid is the progress of demoralization, may be seen from the fact that in the thirty years from 1821 to 1851, the consumption of British spirits increased from 4,125,616 to 9,995,395 gallons, or double the rate of the population. The use of opium, too, appears to be greatly increasing—the import of 1850 being 103,718 pounds; that of 1852, 251,792 pounds. It is estimated that there are 280,000 Prostitutes in England. The Times says that shrines are made for a penny a piece by women who find needles and thread—artificial flowers are made at two pence a pair. The total opposition of the free traders of the present day to the real free trader, Adam Smith, is fully set forth in this chapter. "The differ-

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